

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 05061 01 OF 02 221726Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 ACDA-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SCA-01
/080 W

-----221844Z 041669 /41

R 221714Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6706
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 05061

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR PGOV FR GW UR GE WB UK US
SUBJECT: BERLIN: SOVIET REPLY TO ALLIED PROTEST OF
JANUARY 11

REFS: (A) MOSCOW 3262; (B) MOSCOW 3189; (C) BERLIN 5556

BEGIN SUMMARY. OUR ANALYSIS OF THE SOVIET REPLY TO THE
JANUARY 11 ALLIED PROTEST INDICATES THAT THE SOVIETS
BROKE VERY LITTLE NEW GROUND. MUCH OF THEIR LANGUAGE
WAS TAKEN FROM THEIR MAY 1975 NOTE CONCERNING THE UN
DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK. JUST AS WE ON JANUARY 11 HAD
DELIBERATELY AVOIDED REFERRING TO THE EXERCISE OF ALLIED
RIGHTS IN EAST BERLIN (SOMETHING WE HAD MENTIONED IN
OUR 1975 DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK NOTE), THE SOVIETS
REFRAINED FROM REPEATING THEIR MAY 1975 STATEMENT
THAT SUCH RIGHTS NO LONGER EXISTED. WE PLAN TO SUGGEST
IN THE BONN GROUP THAT THE ALLIED RESPONSE TO THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 05061 01 OF 02 221726Z

SOVIET STATEMENT BE RESTRICTED TO THE MINIMUM
NECESSARY TO PRESERVE ALLIED POSITIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. IN A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION ON MARCH 15 OF THE
SOVIET REPLY DELIVERED TO THE THREE ALLIED DCMS IN

MOSCOW ON MARCH 10 (REFS A AND B), THE BONN GROUP THOUGHT IT WOULD PROBABLY BE NECESSARY TO MAKE AT LEAST A BRIEF REPLY. THE UK REP (CARTER) UNDERTOOK TO PREPARE A FIRST DRAFT, ALTHOUGH HE POINTED OUT THAT OUR REPLY SHOULD FEATURE A "RETURN TO PURITY OF LANGUAGE." IN AN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO THE ISSUES RECENTLY RAISED BY HIBBERT, CARTER SAID WE WOULD HAVE TO GET AWAY FROM DISCUSSION OF "QUADRIPARTITE STATUS" AND BACK TO "ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES," CONCERNING WHICH LESS DEBATE EXISTS.

2. THERE WAS LITTLE DISCUSSION OF THE MARCH 10 SOVIET REPLY ITSELF, ALTHOUGH THE FRG REP (HENZE) SUGGESTED THAT THE SOVIET CLAIM THAT BERLIN TERRITORIALY HAD NEVER BEEN SEPARATED FROM THE SOVIET ZONE OF OCCUPATION WAS ONE NOT OFTEN MENTIONED BEFORE. THE FRENCH REP (BOISSIEU) OBSERVED, HOWEVER, THAT THAT CLAIM HAD BEEN MADE IN ONE OF THE SOVIET NOTES IN THE DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK SERIES. AS REPORTED SEPTEL, THE REMAINDER OF THE BONN GROUP DISCUSSION CENTERED AROUND THE FRENCH VIEW THAT WE SHOULD BE MORE CONCERNED WITH HOW TO REACT TO RECENT EVENTS THAN WITH WHAT TO SAY IN ANOTHER NOTE.

3. COMMENT: DESPITE THE TOUGH WORDING OF THE SOVIET REPLY OF MARCH 10, OUR ANALYSIS SUGGESTS THAT THERE IS VERY LITTLE THAT IS NEW IN IT AND THAT, INDEED, THE DRAFTING REFLECTS AN ELEMENT OF CAUTION ON THE PART OF THE SOVIETS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 05061 01 OF 02 221726Z

4. WE RECALL THAT, WHEN THE ALLIED DEMARCHE WAS DELIVERED IN MOSCOW ON JANUARY 11, KVITSINSKI HAD COMMENTED TO THE BRITISH DCM THAT IT SOUNDED VERY MUCH LIKE ONE OF THE ALLIED DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK NOTES. HE WAS, OF COURSE, CORRECT, AS THE LANGUAGE ON THE QUADRIPARTITE STATUS OF BERLIN IN THE JANUARY 11 PROTEST (BONN 327 AS AMENDED BY BONN 408) WAS TAKEN DIRECTLY FROM THE ALLIED NOTE TO THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL OF APRIL 14, 1975.

5. TO THAT BASIC LANGUAGE, WE HAD ADDED ESSENTIALLY THREE NEW ELEMENTS IN THE JANUARY 11 DEMARCHE:

-- THAT THE GDR STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS CONSTITUTED A VIOLATION OF THE QA;

-- THAT THERE DID NOT EXIST A STATE FRONTIER BETWEEN THE EASTERN SECTOR AND THE WESTERN SECTORS OF

BERLIN; AND

-- THAT THE QA APPLIED TO THE WHOLE OF BERLIN.

6. ALSO, OUR JANUARY 11 DEMARCHE OMITTED ONE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 05061 02 OF 02 221730Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 ACDA-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SCA-01
/080 W

-----221843Z 041708 /40

R 221714Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6707

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 05061

SIGNIFICANT PASSAGE FROM OUR APRIL 14, 1975, NOTE --
THE STATEMENT THAT "THE FOUR POWERS CONTINUE TO
EXERCISE THEIR QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES
IN ALL FOUR SECTORS OF THE CITY."

7. CLOSE READING OF THE SOVIET REPLY OF MARCH 10 SHOWS
THAT THE SOVIET DRAFTERS ALSO RELIED HEAVILY ON THE
DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK FILE. THEY ANSWERED THE THREE NEW
POINTS LISTED ABOVE, BY DENYING THAT THE GDR ACTIONS
WERE A VIOLATION OF THE QA, BY REFERRING TO THE "STATE
BOUNDARY OF THE GDR," AND BY STATING THAT THE SUBJECT
OF THE QA "IS WEST BERLIN AND ONLY WEST BERLIN." BUT
CONCERNING THE STATUS OF GREATER BERLIN, THE SOVIETS
QUOTED DIRECTLY FROM THE NOTE WHICH THEY SENT ON MAY 12,

1975 (75 USUN 1605) IN RESPONSE TO THE ALLIED NOTE OF
APRIL 14, 1975. ALLOWING FOR DIFFERENCES IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 05061 02 OF 02 221730Z

TRANSLATION, THE LANGUAGE ON NO ORIGINAL ALLIED RIGHTS,
ON THE CLAIM THAT BERLIN TERRITORIALY WAS NEVER
DETACHED FROM THE FORMER SOVIET ZONE OF OCCUPATION, AND
ON CUTTING OFF THE WSB FROM THEIR NATURAL ENVIRONMENT
IS IDENTICAL.

8. MOST SIGNIFICANTLY, PERHAPS, THE SOVIETS OMITTED ON
MARCH 10 THE STATEMENT WHICH THEY HAD MADE ON MAY 14,
1975, THAT IT IS "PERFECTLY OBVIOUS" THAT THE THREE
POWERS CANNOT "CLAIM ANY RIGHTS WHATSOEVER WITH RESPECT
TO THE CAPITAL OF THE GDR." IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THEIR
DECISION NOT TO REITERATE THAT ASSERTION WAS IN
DEFERENCE TO OUR OMISSION OF THE REFERENCE TO
EXERCISING OUR RIGHTS IN EAST BERLIN.

9. INITIAL ACCOUNTS OF ABRASIMOV'S PRESS CONFERENCE ON
MARCH 10 SUGGESTED THAT HE HAD MADE UP ORALLY FOR THE
SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY'S FAILURE TO MAKE THIS POINT IN
THE PAPER HANDED US IN MOSCOW THAT DAY. HE REPORTEDLY
CLAIMED THAT THE RIGHTS OF THE THREE POWERS IN THE
EASTERN SECTOR OF BERLIN NO LONGER EXISTED. BUT HIS
WORDING WAS AMBIGUOUS, AND IT IS INTERESTING THAT HIS
EMBASSY HAS CLARIFIED THE AMBIGUITY BY STATING THAT WHAT
ABRASIMOV HAD TERMED NONEXISTENT WAS THE EASTERN SECTOR,
NOT ALLIED RIGHTS (REF C).

10. ON ONE OTHER ELEMENT IN THE MARCH 10 SOVIET "NON-
PAPER," EMBASSY MOSCOW IS CORRECT IN NOTING THAT THE
REFERENCE TO "WEST BERLIN" AS "A CITY WITH A SPECIAL
STATUS" IS UNUSUAL (REF A). THE SOVIETS DID NOT USE
THAT PARTICULAR FORMULATION DURING THE DEMOGRAPHIC
YEARBOOK SERIES (IN THEIR NOTE OF NOVEMBER 13, 1974,
FOR EXAMPLE, THEY STILL REFERRED TO "EAST BERLIN" AND
"THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN"), NOR DO WE RECALL
HAVING SEEN IT IN OTHER RECENT EXCHANGES. THIS PENCHANT
FOR TREATING THE WSB AS A "CITY" IS NEVERTHELESS ONE OF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 05061 02 OF 02 221730Z

LONG STANDING, AND WE ARE NOT INCLINED TO INTERPRET THE
MARCH 10 FORMULATION AS A FURTHER REFINEMENT OF MOSCOW'S
POSITION. ONE EARLIER REFERENCE AT HAND IS A STATEMENT
BY GROMYKO IN THE UNGA ON JULY 10, 1969, WHEN HE SAID:

"WEST BERLIN HAS AN INTERNATIONAL STATUS, THE ONLY ONE OF ITS KIND IN THE WORLD. ...WE ADVOCATE THE RIGHT OF THE CITY'S POPULATION AND AUTHORITIES TO HAVE ALL CONDITIONS FOR ACTIVITIES THAT WOULD ENSURE THE NORMAL EXISTENCE OF WEST BERLIN AS AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ENTITY."

11. IN SHORT, WE CONCLUDE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE BROKEN NO NEW GROUND IN THEIR MOST RECENT STATEMENT AND THAT THEY HAVE FOR THE MOST PART, IN FACT, ENDEAVORED TO ANSWER OUR ARGUMENTS WITH PREVIOUSLY USED FORMULATIONS. THE ONE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION IS THE FORMAL ASSERTION THAT THE QA APPLIES ONLY TO WEST BERLIN.

12. OUR INITIAL RECOMMENDATION AS THE BONN GROUP BEGINS WORK ON A REPLY WILL THUS BE THAT WE SAY THE MINIMUM NECESSARY TO PRESERVE ALLIED POSITIONS.
STOESSEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC PROTESTS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, BERLIN FOUR POWER OCCUPATION, BERLIN QUADRIPARTITE MATTERS, STATUS OF BERLIN
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 22-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BONN05061
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770098-0347
Format: TEL
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770337/aaaabfkx.tel
Line Count: 242
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 80fa34b4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 MOSCOW 3262, 77 MOSCOW 3189, 77 BERLIN 5556
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3040170
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BERLIN: SOVIET REPLY TO ALLIED PROTEST OF JANUARY 11
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, FR, GE, UR, GC, WB, UK, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/80fa34b4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009